

EUROPEAN PAPER AND WATERMARKS IN THE QURAN COPY OF TUBAGUS MUSTOFA BAKRI

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ABSTRACT

A Quran copy written by Tubagus Mustofa Bakri (TMB) stored in the oldest mosque in Bogor, West Java, was claimed to have been existed since the 14th century and became a wide public attention. However, the use of European paper and the watermarks in this Quran copy could indicate the otherwise. This study examines the use of European paper and watermarks in the Quran copy by TMB to confirm whether the reported time of publication (by the descendants of TMB) confirms with philological identifiers in the manuscript. This study employs a qualitative research design with descriptive analysis methods. Data were collected from direct observations in the field and interviews with key informants. The data were then analyzed using descriptive analysis method. Research finding indicates that there is information discrepancy regarding the time of Quran rewriting. Based on the analysis of the paper used, European paper only began to circulate in Nusantara around the 17th –18th century AD. The watermark in the Quran was also unique to the emblem produced between the 17th–18th centuries AD. The present study concludes that Quran copy made by Tubagus Mustofa Bakri was more likely copied between the 17–18th centuries, hence the claimed date of publication in the 14th century might not be accurate. With this finding, this study contributes in providing more accurate historical fact about Quran copy written by a prominent Islam preacher in West Java, Tubagus Mustofa Bakri.

Keyword: Quran, Watermark, Paper, European paper

ABSTRAK

Salinan Al-Qur'an yang ditulis tangan oleh Tubagus Mustofa Bakri diketahui sebagai Al-Qur'an yang ada sejak abad ke-14. Namun, penggunaan kertas Eropa dan tanda air (watermark) dalam manuskrip tersebut mengindikasikan perbedaan waktu. Penelitian ini mengkaji penggunaan kertas Eropa dan cap kertas yang terdapat dalam Al-Qur'an salinan Tubagus Mustofa Bakri (disingkat TMB), untuk menjawab pertanyaan: Apakah terdapat kesesuaian antara waktu pembuatan Al-Qur'an sebagaimana disampaikan oleh keturunan TMB dengan informasi filologisnya (jenis kertas dan watermark)? Penelitian ini menggunakan desain penelitian kualitatif dengan model analisis deskriptif. Data penelitian dikumpulkan melalui pengamatan langsung di lapangan dan wawancara terhadap narasumber. Data kemudian dianalisis dengan menggunakan metode analisis deskriptif. Data analisis menunjukkan adanya ketidaksesuaian data terkait waktu penyalinan Al-Quran. Data filologis menunjukkan bahwa kertas yang digunakan Al-Qur'an ini adalah kertas Eropa yang mulai beredar di Nusantara sekitar abad ke 17-18 Masehi. Selain itu, konversi cap kertas yang terdapat pada kertas Al-Qur'an juga memperlihatkan bahwa cap kertas tersebut merupakan ciri khas di abad ke 17-18 Masehi. Penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa Al-Qur'an salinan Tubagus Mustofa Bakri diperkirakan ditulis pada sekitar abad ke-17-18 Masehi, bukan pada abad ke-14 Masehi sebagaimana informasi anak keturunan TMB. Dengan demikian, penelitian ini meluruskan informasi yang berkembang di masyarakat terkait fakta sejarah al-Qur'an yang disalin oleh penyebar Islam di Jawa Barat ini.

Kata kunci: Al-Quran, Cap Kertas, Kertas, Kertas Eropa

INTRODUCTION

The first papermaking in Europe was carried out in the 12th and 13th centuries AD, thousands of years after the birth of papermaking in China. In the early 12th century AD, papermaking flourished in Spain and Italy. In 1276 AD, the first paper factory in Europe was established, namely Fabriano paper factory. In 1338 AD, papermaking developed in Troyes, France. Few years later in 1398 AD, papermaking began to exist in Nurenberg, Germany, followed by its flourish in Gennep, Holland in 1428 AD¹.

¹ Dard Hunter, *Paper Making: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (United Kingdom: Constable and Company, Ltd, 1974), 60.

In the beginning, the first European paper was not favored by writers or the European public because it was expensive and more fragile than parchment – the writing material made from animal skins (donkeys, sheep, and goats) – which was commonly used. In addition, European papermaking was not trusted by the Europeans because it was introduced by the Jews and Arabs. Some factors can influence this suspicion. First, European paper was made of linen – which is commonly used to wrap mummies – and cotton cloth dipped in a gelation solution made from nails, skins, and animal horns². It undoubtedly generated a certain hesitance for usage.

Dipodjojo (1996) in Wardah³ stated that one of the famous European paper companies belonged to Pieter van der Ley which was founded in 1665 AD. The papers made by the company in 1675 matched the quality of the papers produced in France. Besides from van der Ley's paper companies, there were other paper companies in Europe such as the Honighs, van Gerrevinks, Villedary, Blauw & Briel, Kool, Rogge, Pannekoek, and Cramer & Co⁴.

There was no interest in using European papers among writers and Europeans due to their high price. Bloom⁵ suggests that in the middle of the 19th century AD, paper companies in Europe succeeded in producing papers at low prices. The papers were used to write books, magazines and newspapers, as well as for other purposes. In the same year, when papermaking was already in a stable position, Charles Moïse Bricquet, a *filigran* (watermark expert) began to collect and organize hundreds of watermarks he found in ancient paper specimens.

Watermarks are a characteristic of European papers that are not found on other types/origins of papers. Watermarks can

² Hunter, 60.

³ Eva Syarifah Wardah, "Kajian Kondisi Fisik Dan Seluk-Beluk Pernaskahan (Kodikologi)," *Tsaqofah* 10, no. 1 (2012): 9.

⁴ William Algernon Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper: In Holland, England, France, Etc. In the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger&Co, 1965).

⁵ Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (Singapore: CS Graphics, 2001), 6.

also be used to estimate the year of copying (or writing) of work when there is no information written in a manuscript. Watermarks are one aspect of classic manuscripts or works that can be studied further of their interesting historical background. Studies on watermarks can be carried out in philological studies, especially codicology.

European papers have travelled globally, including to Nusantara. This type of paper was used as material for writing classic works by writers in the archipelago. The works produced were not only in the form of prose, poetry, saga, and others but also copies of the Quran. The copying of the Quran in Nusantara is estimated to have started since the beginning of the arrival of Islam in the end of the 13th century AD in Aceh (Arib, 2020). At the time, the Pasai Kingdom became the first kingdom to officially embrace Islam. Copying the Quran manuscript was originally carried out in a traditional way, because there was no printing press to reproduce the Quran. The tradition of copying manuscripts traditionally continued until the beginning of the 20th century AD, in various important cities where the Muslim community had existed such as in Sumatra, Central Java, and East Java⁶.

One of the copies of the Quran written on European papers is the Quran which is stored in the oldest mosque in Bogor, West Java namely Masjid Al-Musthofa. This manuscript was a handwritten copy of Quran by the founder of the mosque, Tubagus Mustofa Bakri (hence TMB). Based on the interview with the leader of the mosque management (DKM) of Masjid Al-Mustofa⁷ who happened to be the fifth descendant of TMB, TMB performed the copying of the Quran in Bogor, West Java, after he finished memorizing the Quran. It was estimated that the TMB Quran copy was made in the 14th century.

⁶ Ali Akbar, "Filologi Dan Islam Indonesia" (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI, 2010).

⁷ Interview was conducted in 2019 in Al-Mustofa with *Bapak Mukti Natsir*, the head of mosque management (DKM) who is also the fifth descendant of Tubagus Mustofa Bakri.

This present study discusses some aspects of the codicology on the Quran manuscript stored in the Al-Mustofa Mosque, Bogor. This mosque was recognized as a cultural heritage officiated by the Bogor City Government since 2011, and TMB copy of Quran became public attention for its longevity and agility. Before its status as a historical relic, this manuscript was stored in a food container due to unavailability of proper preservation equipment.

Once officiated as a historical relic, TMB Quran copy was placed and cared in a way of the treatment of ancient manuscripts. Based on the information from the head of mosque management (DKM) of the Al-Mustofa Mosque (2019), *Bapak Mukti Natsir*, the Quran copy is placed in a quite large glass case. The following picture shows how the Quran has been stored in a square glass case in the Al-Mustofa Mosque.



Source: Ratna Safitri's documentation, 2021.

Picture 1

The TMB Quran stored in a glass box

In examining the manuscript material, the estimated time of manuscript production, and the age of the manuscript, codicological approach was employed in this study. The manuscript material is something on which the manuscript is written⁸. Meanwhile, the estimated time of copying of the manuscript can help determine the age of the written manuscript, although it is not

⁸ Sri Wulan Rujati Mulyadi, *Kodikologi Melayu Di Indonesia* (Depok: Fakultas Sastra UI, 1994).

always accurate. The age of the manuscript can be seen from the way in which the manuscript material was used. According to Wardah⁹, when a manuscript used palm leaves and other similar materials, the manuscript is estimated to be more than 300 years old. On the other hand, manuscripts written on European papers indicate that they are 200-300 years old.

Wardah¹⁰ argues that European papers circulating in the archipelago were originally imported and used by the Dutch East Indies government and trading activities for administrative and correspondence purposes. At the time, paper imports in the archipelago were not much. There were three streams of paper imports to the archipelago, namely: the Netherlands, England (with main destination to Malaysia), and northeastern Italy (including the Kingdom of Austria). Before using papers from these countries, people of Nusantara used various kinds of paper from France, Spain, and Portugal.

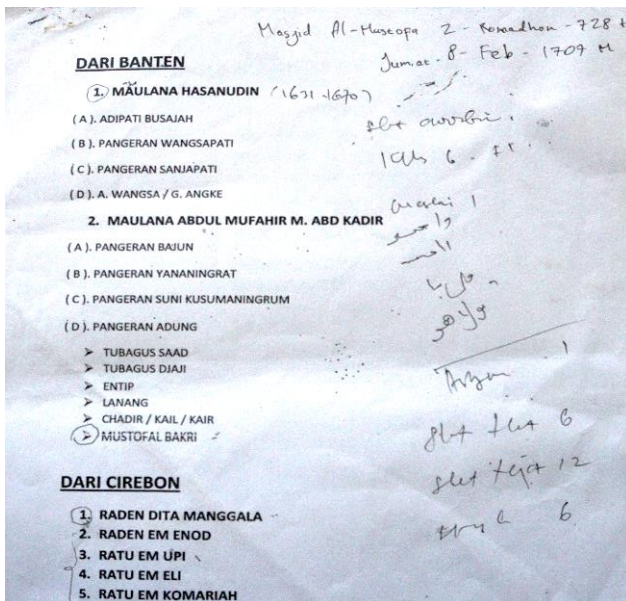
Studies on the use of European papers and watermarks in ancient manuscripts including this present study is important in order to discover a history of manuscript more accurately. Such studies can also be used to trace old documents and explore the historical relationship of manuscript writing. By knowing the history of the use of paper in manuscripts, other findings will be revealed, one of which is the history of the tradition of writing the Quran in Bogor, especially the copy of the Quran found in the Al-Mustofa Mosque in Bantarjati, Bogor.

Masjid Al-Mustofa is the oldest mosque in Bantarjati, Bogor. It is the oldest mosque in the area, built in the earliest period of the formation of Bogor city area. The 'Kampung Baru', literally means 'new village' (now it is called Bantarjati). The TMB Quran, as a relic of the oldest mosque in Bogor, was copied using European papers containing a watermark. According to the information given by the head of mosque management (DKM) of the Al-Mustofa Mosque, who is also a descendant of Tubagus Mustofa Bakri, this Quran is more than 700

⁹ Wardah, "Kajian Kondisi Fisik Dan Seluk-Beluk Pernaskahan (Kodikologi)," 6.

¹⁰ Wardah, 9.

years old because it was made at the same time as the construction of the mosque in 728 H or in 1307 AD. The Quran is estimated to be finished in 1328 AD. Information about when the mosque was built is written on a paper mentioning the list of descendants from the Sultanate of Banten and Cirebon, as shown on Picture 2 below.



Source: Ratna Safitri's documentation, 2021.

Picture 2

The genealogical lines of the Sultanate of Banten and Cirebon

From Picture 2 above, it can be seen that the two founders of Al-Musthofa mosque i.e. Tubagus Mustofa Bakri and Raden Dita Manggala were from two different genealogical lines from Banten and Cirebon. Tubagus Mustofa Bakri is the sixth child of Prince Adung and the grandson of the fifth sultan of the Banten Sultanate, Maulana Abdul Mufahir Mahmud Abdul Kadir. Meanwhile, Raden Dita Manggala, is known to be from the Cirebon Sultanate. Both of them were prominent Islamic figures who propagated Islam in Bogor, West Java.

Despite the information from the mosque official, the information written on a board in front of the Al-Mustofa Mosque shows different things. On the board, it is written that this mosque was founded around 1728 AD. This information, however, needs to be proven. One of ways to cross-examine the age of the mosque is by examining the age of the Quran written by TMB. TMB copy of Quran was handwritten on European paper which contain watermarks therein. These two identifiers can inform the more exact time of the Quran-copy production. While the Quran manuscript is thought to have been copied in the 1300s, the mosque description board says that the Al-Mustofa Mosque was built in the 1700s. This time discrepancy indicates that there was an error in describing the time of copying the Quran manuscript, either in the DKM statement or in the information board. Therefore, a study needs to be conducted to clarify about the accurate time.

Based on the description above, two research questions related to determining the age of the Quranic manuscript are posed.

1. What types of watermarks are found on every page of the TMB Quran manuscript?
2. When is the time for copying the TMB Quran manuscript based on the watermarks used?

This study aims to identify the watermarks contained in the TMB Quran manuscript so that the time of copying the Quran manuscript can be estimated more accurately.

Studies on watermarks have not been widely carried out by researchers in Indonesia. In general, each researcher discusses all aspects of the codicology of the manuscript, i.e., the paper material, the variety of writing, the illumination, and the colophons contained in the manuscript. Meanwhile, some researchers overseas have specifically examined the watermarks contained in classical manuscripts produced by several countries.

In 2008, Beate Wiesmüller conducted research on watermarks with the title “The Watermark from the Refaiya

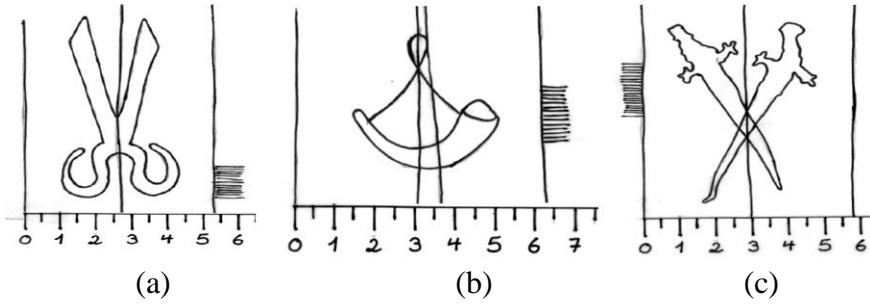
Library”.¹¹ The watermarks seen in the manuscripts stored in the Refaiya Library were redrawn using graphite pencil.¹² With this method, it is possible to find an exact copy of the brand from the watermark without causing any distortion. However, this method is not effective and practical for Islamic manuscripts because the uneven paper surface hinders the process of forming an image of the paper surface with a pencil.

Despite some difficulties in watermark research, studies on watermarks in Islamic codicology have produced modest results. Unfortunately, however, there is no further explanation on the results of the analysis. To date, only Bulgarian scholars have been able to contribute notes in the collection of watermarks of Islamic manuscripts, particularly those of the Ottoman period.

Wiesmüller’s research results show that there are 97 dated and watermarked manuscripts, and 84 undated and unwatermarked manuscripts in the Refaiya Library. The visible forms of watermarks are classified according to the time the manuscript was made, from the 15th to 19th centuries. In the 15th century manuscripts, ‘a pair of scissors’, ‘trumpet’, and ‘swords’ watermarks are specific indicator of the era. Meanwhile, in the 19th-century manuscripts, the visible watermarks are ‘eagle’, ‘three crescent moons’, ‘half-faced moon’, and ‘a god’. Pictures 3 and 4 present some examples of watermark illustrations found in the 15th to 19th century AD manuscripts based on the findings at the Refaiya Library.

¹¹ The Refaiya Library is one of the libraries at the University of Leipzig, Germany, that stores various Islamic manuscripts.

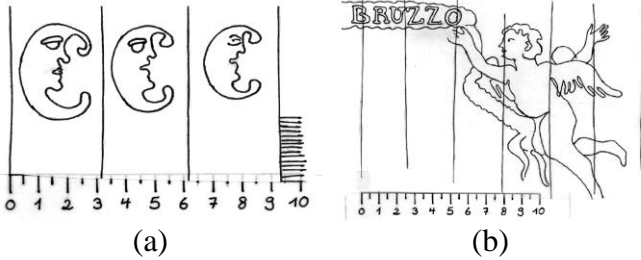
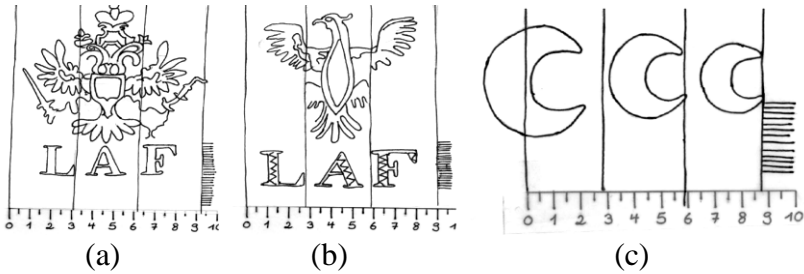
¹² Graphite pencil is one type of pencil that is quite popular nowadays, but this type of pencil is made of charcoal so that the results of the writing are thicker.



Source: Wiesmüller, 2008.

Picture 3

Watermark illustrations in the 15th century; (a) A pair of scissors, (b) trumpet, and (c) swords.



Source: Wiesmüller, 2008.

Picture 4

Watermark illustration in the 19th century; (a and b) eagle, (c) three crescent moons, (d) half-faced moons, and (e) a god.

In 2012, Sophie Lewincamp¹³ conducted research on watermarks with the title “Watermark within the Middle Eastern Manuscript Collection of the Baillieu Library”. This research mainly focused on finding the information contained in the manuscripts, namely the watermarks in each manuscript collection at the Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne. The information found is then analyzed visually to help determine the date, origin, and information about the history of the paper trade. The manuscripts collected in this library are Middle Eastern manuscripts from the 14th to 19th centuries AD.

The results of Lewincamp’s research show that about 30% of the manuscripts from the entire collection were identified as having watermarks. The watermark that is commonly seen in every collection is the three crescents. The type of watermark was originally made in Italy around the 16th century AD. There was also the ‘crown-star-crescent’ watermark in the manuscripts. This watermark was made for the Muslim markets and was widely used in the Chancellery of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th to 18th centuries AD.

In 2017, Islah Gusmian¹⁴ conducted research on religious manuscripts stored in one of the Islamic boarding schools in Central Java. The research was published in the *Dinika* journal entitled “Religious Manuscripts at the Popongan Mosque: Codicological Studies and Content Mapping”. The manuscripts stored in the mosque were written by scholars in Surakarta with several disciplines of knowledge, such as *fiqh*, *kalam*, *tasawwuf*, Arabic grammar, *mushaf* of Quran, *primbon*, and collections of prayers.

Based on codicological studies, the papers used in the Popongan Mosque manuscripts consist of two types, European papers and modern lined papers. There is a watermark of the *Pro Patria* type with a picture of a lion carrying a sword and a soldier carrying a spear; and a *Pro Patria* featuring a crown pendant

¹³ Sophie Lewincamp, “Watermarks within the Middle Eastern Manuscript Collection of the Baillieu Library,” *The Australian Library Journal* 61, no. 2 (2012): 95–104.

¹⁴ Islah Gusmiah, “Manuskrip Keagamaan Di Masjid Popongan: Kajian Kodikologi Dan Pemetaan Isi,” *Dinika* 2 (2017): 249–74.

with a lion carrying a sword. The existence of this watermark, according to Gusmian¹⁵, indicates that these European papers were made in the 1600s.

In 2018, there was a study on the Quranic manuscripts conducted by Jajang A. Rohmana¹⁶ and was published in the journal *Wawasan* with the title “Four Manuscripts of the Quran in Subang, West Java (Codicological Studies of Quran Manuscripts)”. The study focuses on the four manuscripts of Quran by looking into the material aspects and the variety of writing. The results of this study indicate that three manuscripts use European papers with *Concordia Resparvae Crescunt* watermark featuring crowned lion image which is estimated to have been made in the 19th century AD. Such watermark was made by Pieter van der Ley company in Holland between 1698 to 1815.

From these previous studies on watermarks in classical manuscripts, it could be noted that each paper company produced unique and distinct types and forms of watermarks. Among watermarks in European papers, ‘three crescents’ was well-known at the time. This watermark was made by Italian paper company.

Studies on the use of watermarks in the Quran manuscript were not quite extensive, especially on this particular manuscript of Quran copy found in the oldest mosque in Bogor. This present study attempts to fill this gap. Previous studies on other manuscripts by utilizing the categories of watermarks in the “The Watermark from the Refaiya Library” will be used as reference to analyze the watermarks found in the TMB copy of the Quran manuscript.

This study uses some theories from codicologists who studied watermarks. Mulyadi¹⁷ suggests that codicology is the science of texts, not the study of what is written in the text.

¹⁵ Gusmiah.

¹⁶ Jajang A. Rohmana, “Empat Manuskrip Al-Qur’an Di Subang Jawa Barat (Studi Kodikologi Manuskrip Al-Qur’an),” *Wawasan* 1, no. 3 (2018): 1–16.

¹⁷ Mulyadi, *Kodikologi Melayu Di Indonesia*, 44.

Wardah¹⁸ states that there are several main things discussed in codicology, including 1) what is meant by manuscript material, 2) how the manuscript material is made, 3) what material the manuscript is made from, 4) how to find out the age of the manuscript, 5) how to obtain information on the writing or copying of the manuscript, 6) how to obtain information about the author or copyist of the manuscript, and 7) what elements to look for so that all aspects of the manuscript can be known. The scope of codicology includes the history of manuscripts, where the manuscripts are stored, places of writing/copying the manuscripts, trading or copying of manuscripts, and how to compose a catalog¹⁹.

Turner²⁰ in *The Book of Fine Paper* argues that a watermark is a faint design that is inserted into a piece of handmade paper and will not be visible if the paper is not lifted against the light. A watermark is a sign in the form of a translucent image on paper and can be seen clearly when viewed in a place with sunlight or lights. Watermarks can also be found in banknotes and stamps. The image is usually a symbol of the paper manufacturer. From the watermark, the manuscript's age can be estimated because the companies that produced the paper operated at certain times²¹.

This research employed descriptive-analytical research method. Descriptive data analysis is carried out by analyzing and describing the collected data in the forms of interviews and direct observations. The main data in this study is the TMB copy of the Quran. The codicological information from this manuscript (e.g., the type of the paper and the type of watermark) is then cross-referenced to the interviews with the head of Mosque Manage-

¹⁸ Wardah, "Kajian Kondisi Fisik Dan Seluk-Beluk Pernaskahan (Kodikologi)," 5.

¹⁹ Stuart Owen Robson, *Prinsip-Prinsip Filologi Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1994).

²⁰ Silvie Turner, *The Book of Fine Paper* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 31.

²¹ M.I Waley, *Islami Codicology: An Introduction to The Study of Manuscript in Arabic Script*. (London: Al-Furqon Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005).

ment (DKM). Both data sources are used to answer two research questions that have been posed in the introduction, one of which is about the history of the creation of the Quran manuscript.

In studying the data, a codicological approach was used. The first step in studying papers and watermarks was to describe the history of European papers, its spread and use in Indonesian archipelago. The following step was to describe the type of watermarks found in Tubagus Mustofa Bakri's Quran copy and finally determined the time of writing the Quran manuscript.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

European Papers and Watermarks

Most Malay manuscripts use European papers. Malay manuscripts are easier to identify because of the watermarks. It is worth noting that some Asian papers that have watermarks and are used as writing material are actually European-made papers²².

The use of European paper in Southeast Asia accompanied the expansion of Western powers that began with the Portuguese occupation of Malacca in 1511 AD. The letters found in Southeast Asia after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca were a letter in Arabic from Sultan Zainal Sultan Zainal Abidin (Samudera Pasai) in 1516 AD and a letter in Persian written by a resident of Malacca in 1519. Meanwhile, the first letters in Malay were sent by Sultan Abu Hayat (Ternate) to King João III (Portugal), in 1521 and 1522. After Russell examined them personally, the two Malay letters were written on European papers and had watermarks on them²³.

Jones (1993b) in Yahya dan Jones²⁴ argues that in the early 17th century AD, the paper used for Malay manuscript writing in Southeast Asia appeared to have been imported from various

²² Farouk Yahya and Rusell Jones, "Malay Manuscript: A Guide to Paper and Watermarks. The Collected Works of Russell Jones 1972–2015," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, no. 144 (2021), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2021.1939521>.

²³ Yahya and Jones.

²⁴ Yahya and Jones, 158.

sources. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Netherlands and England became the main suppliers of paper in the Southeast Asian region. Both have strengths in trade and colonial history in the region that imported paper from their paper mills. There was also the use of Spanish papers in the respective colonial areas, for example, in the Philippines, known as *papel catalan* (Kawashima, 2019)²⁵.

There were also imports of European papers from other countries such as Italy. Watermarks found on Italian papers are three crescent moons (known as *tre lune*), ‘moonface’ (a crescent moon with a human face), and a two-headed eagle. Italian papers were also traded in the West African region via routes from the Middle East, particularly through the Egyptian route. In the late 18th and 19th centuries, Italian papers were widely used in Egypt, and from there, it was re-exported to other countries in Africa and Arabia (Jones, 1998b)²⁶.

Russell (1979) in Yahya and Jones²⁷ suggests that it is impossible for Italian papers to be exported to Southeast Asia directly from Egypt. Russell suspects Mecca as a key country/city for supplying paper from Italy to the archipelago, although he admits there is no solid evidence to support this. He also suggests the possibility that paper imports from Italy replaced the Islamic paper trade to the Southeast Asian region. Italian paper arrived in southeast Asia via ‘Islamic’ routes, but papers from the Middle East itself is rarely used in Southeast Asia.

Turner²⁸ describes that a watermark is a faint design that is inserted into a piece of handmade paper and will not be visible if the paper is not lifted against the light. In 1635, the coat of arms of Amsterdam began to be used as a watermark. Apparently, this was the watermark owned by the Netherlands, but it was only made in France with the initials of the first watermark maker, “I.M.”. Since then, papers with variations of the Amsterdam

²⁵ Yahya and Jones, “Malay Manuscript: A Guide to Paper and Watermarks. The Collected Works of Russell Jones 1972–2015.”

²⁶ Yahya and Jones.

²⁷ Yahya and Jones, 160.

²⁸ Turner, *The Book of Fine Paper*, 32.

national coat of arms had been produced in large quantities at French paper mills, followed by Dutch paper mills.

The TMB copy of the Quran is written on European papers and has *Pro Patria* and *W.W.& H. Pannekoek* watermarks. Both types of watermarks are believed to have been made in the 16th to 18th centuries by a Dutch paper company²⁹. In 1862 in Indonesia, there was a regulation requiring government institutions to use the Dutch-made *Pro Patria*³⁰. This proves that the use of European papers in the archipelago began in the 19th century AD.

Based on its historical background (as described by the mosque official and the information board), this Quran manuscript was written in 1307 AD coincided with the construction of the Al-Mustofa mosque. However, considering the material of TMB Quran copy which is European paper with the *Pro Patria* watermark, the actual date of manuscript production might be different. *Pro Patria* watermark was only produced in the 17th-18th century, few centuries after the estimated year of manuscript production by the interviews. The findings of the watermark can be used as a determinant of the time of making the Quran manuscript³¹.

Jones (1988a) in Yahya and Jones³² notes that watermarks can provide clues about the time of manuscript creation. This timing can be done in several ways, depending on whether the watermark is dated or not. A dated watermark – usually made in England – can provide the *terminus post quem* or the earliest time the copying or writing of the manuscript. The date on the watermark can also help confirm whether the date given on the colophon is correct or not. However, when a watermark does not have a written date, there are other methods that can be used to

²⁹ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper: In Holland, England, France, Etc. In the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection*.

³⁰ Wardah, “Kajian Kondisi Fisik Dan Seluk-Beluk Pernaskahan (Kodikologi).”

³¹ Abdul. Hakim, “Penyalinan Al-Qur’an Kuno Di Sumenep,” *Suhuf* 9, no. 2 (2016).

³² Yahya and Jones, “Malay Manuscript: A Guide to Paper and Watermarks. The Collected Works of Russell Jones 1972–2015,” 162.

date the manuscript. One way is to compare watermarks and countermarks with design variants from other manuscripts.

European paper and paper production in Nusantara

Wardah³³ stated that the Dutch East Indies government, especially those related to trade, used papers from the Netherland for administrative and correspondence purposes. The papers used by the Dutch East Indies government were imported papers. Paper imports from other countries into the archipelago are not much. At that time, there were three streams of papers to the archipelago, including: the Netherlands, England – whose main destination was Malaysia, and northeastern Italy (including the Kingdom of Austria). The Dutch East Indies government – formerly *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) – preferred to import papers from paper mills in the Netherlands. Before using papers from these countries, various types of papers were used in the archipelago, including those from France, Spain, and Portugal.

The trade of European paper benefited business at that time, as Jones³⁴ mentioned quoting from the State Papers (1964). In 1632, a European sailor stated that Banten and Jambi had benefited from trading European papers rather than trading ordinary writing papers. Their profits were obtained from a large number of requests for European papers from the people of the Nusantara, especially Banten and Jambi. This request for European paper shipments made by sea was personally approved by European sailors in the early 17th century AD.

The Dutch East Indies government in the 19th century AD issued several regulations so that exports to the archipelago had a major influence on paper factories in the Netherlands. In 1862, there was a regulation requiring government agencies to use Dutch-made papers with a *Pro Patria* watermark. From 1874 until World War II, special regulations regarding paper imports

³³ Wardah, “Kajian Kondisi Fisik Dan Seluk-Beluk Pernaskahan (Kodikologi),” 10.

³⁴ Yahya and Jones, “Malay Manuscript: A Guide to Paper and Watermarks. The Collected Works of Russell Jones 1972–2015,” 207.

into the archipelago were very important for paper mills in the Netherlands.

The Dutch East Indies government also used European paper as their official papers for correspondence addressed to important people in the archipelago and important people in eastern part countries³⁵. For example, the Governor-General and the Council of the Dutch East Indies sent letters to Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono II and Sultan Anom in 1682 after defeating Banten.

In 1663, the VOC began to have plans to create a paper-making factory in Batavia. In 1665, the paper mill was successfully established. In addition, the VOC also built a printing company. However, both of these efforts were unsuccessful, thus the VOC stopped these efforts. In fact, the construction of the paper factory and printing press was very detrimental to the VOC.

Based on a report on paper production and trade in the Dutch East Indies, Henk Voorn (1978) in Yahya and Jones³⁶ states that the Netherlands had protectionist laws that could benefit Dutch paper makers during the 19th century and the importance of the Indian market to them. Figures on paper imports to the Dutch East Indies in 1898 show that commercial imports were largely non-Dutch. The Netherlands had an import value of 707,575 Gulden, while import value from outside the Netherlands was of 1,217,704 Gulden³⁷. It was this external import of paper which might have caused the VOC paper factory and printing press in Batavia to fail.

European papers and watermarks in the Tubagus Mustofa Bakri Quran manuscript

The Quran stored at the Al-Mustofa Mosque in Bogor is a Quran copy handwritten by TMB. The TMB Quran manuscript is

³⁵ Wardah, “Kajian Kondisi Fisik Dan Seluk-Beluk Pernaskahan (Kodikologi).”

³⁶ Yahya and Jones, “Malay Manuscript: A Guide to Paper and Watermarks. The Collected Works of Russell Jones 1972–2015,” 207.

³⁷ Yahya and Jones, 207.

6 cm thick with a total of 269 pages. The size of the cover of the Quran manuscript is 29 cm x 19 cm with a paper size of 31 cm x 17.5 cm. On each paper, there are 15 lines. The ink colors used for copying are black and red, but both colors have faded. TMB Quran manuscript is not in excellent condition. Some sheets were torn because the paper had dried. TMB Quran does not have colophons, manuscript pages, verse numbers, and illumination.

Al-Mustofa Mosque is one of the oldest mosques in Bogor city which was founded on 2 Ramadan 728 H or on Sunday, 18 July 1328 AD. Based on interviews in 2021, *Bapak* Kusnadi stated that the TMB Quran was estimated to be made in the 1300s and thus is more than 700 years old. This estimation is however not well received by the visitors. According to an interview with *Bapak* Atus, head of Mosque Management (DKM) of the Al-Mustofa Mosque in 2021, the information on the age of the Quran manuscript and the mosque with limited historical data is still being questioned by mosque visitors.

One effort to determine the age of the Quran contained in the Al-Mustofa Mosque is to conduct research on the paper used in the Quran manuscript. The papers used in the TMB Quran is European papers made by a Dutch paper company. Paper companies in Europe had a picture of their respective industries, one of which was the Dutch paper company. In describing the Dutch paper company industry, in 1762, De Lalande in Churchill³⁸ stated that Dutch papers had smoother appearance and were more transparent than French papers, and Dutch papers had a thicker texture. These paper qualities are only intended for papers with the 'horn', 'Pro Patria', and 'British symbol' and 'Venice' watermarks.

The TMB Quran manuscript was copied on Dutch paper which was produced in the 18th-19th centuries AD. It is indicated by the presence of a watermark on the Quran papers. There are four different types of watermarks for writing the Quran, namely *Pro Patria*, *Van Der Ley*, *W.W.&H Pannekoek*, and *C.B. Berends*. These four types of watermarks are found on each page

³⁸ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper: In Holland, England, France, Etc. In the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection*, 7–8.

in a different order with the position of the paper as upside down. The descriptions of the four watermarks are as follows.

First, the *Pro Patria* watermark. This watermark is originally made by a Dutch paper company. *Pro Patria* can also be interpreted as 'for the homeland'. There are two types of motifs for this watermark, namely the Britannia motif—which was produced for the UK market—and the *Maid of Dort* motif—which was produced for the general market. *Pro Patria* watermarks with Britannia motifs appeared in the late 18th century AD³⁹. Meanwhile, the *Pro Patria Maid of Dort* motif was more commonly seen in every Dutch-made paper and the distributed papers contain more *Pro Patria Maid of Dort* watermark.

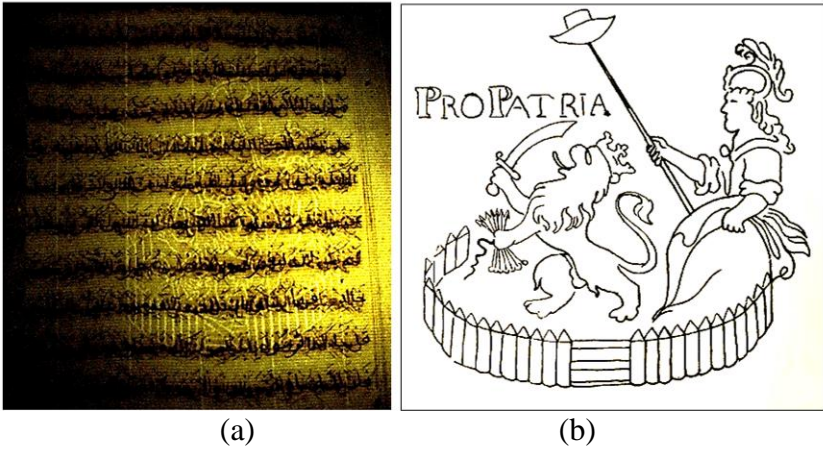
Dort is a shortened version of *Dortrecht*, a city on the Maas River founded in the 11th century AD and was the national symbol for the Netherlands. The *Pro Patria* watermark is depicted with a Dutch servant sitting inside a picket fence and holding a hat placed on the tip of a spear⁴⁰. This watermark depicts the territory of the Netherlands which is surrounded by its defense forts and defends its freedom through force of arms. The power of the weapon is represented by a lion (also symbolizing the Netherlands) brandishing a sword and on the other hand, holding a bundle of arrows. The lion stands ready to repel the invaders⁴¹.

In the TMB manuscript, the *Pro Patria* watermark that is visible is the *Maid of Dort* motif. Picture 5 shows the *Pro Patria Maid of Dort* watermark on the TMB Quran. Image (a) is the *Pro Patria Maid of Dort* watermark seen in the TMB Quran, while image (b) is an illustration of the *Pro Patria Maid of Dort* watermark that is in the Churchill watermark catalog.

³⁹ Churchill, 8.

⁴⁰ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper: In Holland, England, France, Etc. In the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection*.

⁴¹ Edward Heawood, *Watermarks: Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Holland: The Paper Publications Society, 1950).



Source (a): Ratna Safitri's documentation, 2021; Source (b): Churchill, 1965.

Picture 5

- (a) *Pro Patria Maid of Dort* watermark on the Quran,
(b) illustration of *Pro Patria Maid of Dort* in the Churchill
watermark catalog

Second, the Van Der Ley watermark. This type of watermark was made in 1698–1815⁴². Generally, *Van Der Ley* watermarks are only seen in the form of letter initials, such as *V D L*, but in the TMB Quran it is not stated that way. Haewood⁴³ states that writing the initials of the full *V D L* watermark as *Van Der Ley* was commonly used for the Italian market in the early 18th century AD. This type of watermark was originally owned by Pieter van der Ley's Dutch paper company.

Pieter van der Ley's paper company was founded in 1665. In 1675, the papers produced by this company were able to match the paper quality of French paper companies⁴⁴. Van der Ley's first paper was a foolscap or lined paper like a folio, a line commonly seen and used at the time. Although foolscap was no

⁴² Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper: In Holland, England, France, Etc. In the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection*.

⁴³ Heewood, *Watermarks: Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*.

⁴⁴ Wardah, "Kajian Kondisi Fisik Dan Seluk-Beluk Pernaskahan (Kodikologi)."

longer used in the 18th century, Van der Ley continued to produce this type of paper for a long time, even after 1700.

Picture 6 below shows the appearance of the *Van Der Ley* watermark in the TMB Quran, compared to its illustration in the Churchill watermark catalog.



(a)

VAN DER LEY

(b)

Source (a): Ratna Safitri's documentation, 2021.; Source (b): Churchill, 1965.

Picture 6

(a) *Van Der Ley* watermark in the Quran, (b) *Van Der Ley* watermark in the Churchill watermark catalog

Third, the *W.W.&H Pannekoek* watermark. This watermark was made by a Dutch paper company located in Heelsum in 1808⁴⁵. The following is a display of the *W.W.&H Pannekoek* watermark in the TMB Quran. Image (a) is a *W.W.&H Pannekoek* watermark seen in the TMB Quran, while image (b) is an illustration of a *W.W.&H Pannekoek* watermark in the Churchill watermark catalog and is still being traded in online markets.



(a)

⁴⁵ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper: In Holland, England, France, Etc. In the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection*.



(b)

Source (a): Ratna Safitri's documentation, 2021.; Source (b): Churchill, 1965.

Picture 7

(a) *W.W.&H Pannekoek* watermark in the Qur'an, (b) *W.W.&H Pannekoek* watermark in the Dutch paper that is still being sold on online markets

Fourth, the *Co.B. Berends* watermark. According to Churchill's (1965) watermark catalog⁴⁶, the watermark registered with *Berends* name is the *J. Berends* that was made in 1777–1782. Watermark with the prefix *Co.B.* are not listed in the Churchill or Haewood manuscript catalog. However, it is possible that *Co.* means *Company* and *B.* refers to a paper-making city in the Netherlands or a European country. Here is how the *Co.B. Berends* looks in the TMB Quran.



Source: Ratna Safitri's documentation, 2021.

Picture 8

Co.B. Berends watermark in the Quran

Based on the description of each type of watermark seen in the TMB Quran, the distribution, and use of European papers in Nusantara, it can be proven that TMB Quran manuscript was not made in the 14th century AD, as stated by the head of Mosque Management (DKM) of the Al-Mustofa Mosque. Instead, it was made in the 18th or 19th century AD. This fact is supported by statements made by European sailors about the trade of European

⁴⁶ Churchill.

paper in Banten and Jambi in the 17th century AD. Moreover, in the 13th century AD, not many European paper companies added watermarks to their paper. Italy became one of the first European paper-making countries to add watermarks to its paper production in the 13th century AD, and the watermarks shown in the manuscript are clearly not originated from Italian paper company.

Another evidence that supports the theory that TMB manuscript was not made in the 14th century AD is the process of distributing papers to the archipelago which was only carried out in the 17th century AD by sea. Therefore, a claim that TMB manuscript was produced in the 14th century was disproven.

Unfortunately, the philological facts on the original time of production of TMB Quran manuscript are not well received by descendants of Tubagus Mustofa Bakri. Mukti Natsir Yus, the fifth descendant of Tubagus Mustofa Bakri, insists that the Quran was made in the 14th century AD, at the time of the construction of the Al-Mustofa Mosque. Similarly, the previous descendants of Tubagus Mustofa Bakri stated that the Quran was made in the 14th century AD.

The year of construction of the mosque (1728 AD) on the description board in front of the mosque might be based on the historical description of other ancient mosques in Bogor, including At-Thohiriyah Great Mosque which was built in 1817 AD and Annur Mosque which was built in 1828 AD. The two mosques are located in Empang Village, one of the villages where Islam began to enter the Bogor area⁴⁷.

It was mentioned previously that some pages of the manuscripts were written in upside down position, as shown in Picture 9 below. This disproportionate position of the paper indicates that Tubagus Mustofa Bakri did not have much knowledge about European paper marketed in Nusantara at the time.

⁴⁷ Yusuf Hermani and B Tulusna, *Penelusuran Arsip Statis Sejarah Pembangunan* (Bogor: Kantor Arsip dan Perpustakaan Daerah Kabupaten Bogor, 2015).



Source: Ratna Safitri's documentation, 2021.

Picture 9

Writings of TMB with reversed watermark

The use of paper in reverse, such as in Picture 9 above, is not frequently found in the Quran manuscript. Therefore, it can be said that Tubagus Mustofa Bakri's purchase and use of European paper in the same way he used the local paper.

The TMB copy of the Quran uses European papers and has four types of watermarks from a Dutch paper company. The findings of the watermarks on the Quran manuscript and data on the paper trade in the archipelago in the 17th century AD can provide strong evidence that the TMB copy of the Quran was made between the 17th to 19th century AD. In addition, the use of reversed European papers indicates that there is a lack of knowledge of the papers used for writing the Quran manuscript.

CONCLUSION

The codicological analysis on the TMB Quran manuscript suggest that this Quran copy was made in around the 17th-18th century. This time frame was based on the facts that: 1) the manuscript was written on European paper produced by Dutch company, of which was only traded in Nusantara in the 17th -18th century, 2) there were four types of watermarks in the TMB manuscripts namely: *Pro Patria*, *Van Der Ley*, *W.W.&H Pannekoek*, and *Co.B. Berends*. Churchill catalog of watermark

confirms that these watermarks were produced in the 18th century by Dutch paper company. With these findings, it can be concluded that the Quran manuscript from the collection of Al-Mustofa Mosque, in Bogor, was not written in the 14th century as described by the descendants of TMB and the mosque officials might not be accurate.

This study contributes to the body of literature by providing empirical data generated by employing codicological approach to determine the age of one among the oldest Quran manuscript in Nusantara. It also contributes to public interest by correcting information that circulated among the society regarding the historical fact of this TMB manuscript. This study provides practical benefit for the community to inform the public with ample evidence about a heritage in their city.

This study also found the presence of one of the watermarks with the initials *Co.B. Berends* whose historical review has not been conducted before. Watermarks with the prefix *Co.B.* are not found in the Churchill and Haewood watermark catalogs. The new findings in this research open up opportunities for other researchers to further examine the watermarks.

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